

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: STUDENT GROUP TOUR

REF: (A) STATE 017968, (B) STATE 016097

1. VERY INFORMATIVE, FRANK TWO-HOUR DEBRIEFING HELD TODAY, HIGHLIGHTING DYNAMIC TENSION WITHIN GROUP AND COMMUNICATIONS CHASM YET TO BE BRIDGED BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS. ALL EXPRESSED BASIC SATISFACTION WITH TOUR AND BELIEVE IT WAS WORTHWHILE EXPERIENCE, BUT WITH BLACKS AND MENDELOWITZ MUCH MORE ENTHUSIASTIC IN THIS REGARD. AFRIKANERS REITERATED DISPLEASURE ABOUT BEING "MISLED" ABOUT FOCUS OF TOUR (REFTEL A) AND COMPLAINED AS RESULT THEY HAD NOT BEEN ADEQUATELY PREPARED TO DEFEND SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT BEFORE HIGH-LEVEL POLITICIANS, OFFICIALS, AND LABOR LEADERS. ALL AGREED THAT INTIMATE, OUTSPOKEN, 30-DAY EXPOSURE TO EACH OTHERS' VIEWS HAD BEEN ENLIGHTENING, BUT ALSO GAVE AMPLE EVIDENCE THAT POLARIZATION MAY WELL HAVE BEEN INTENSIFIED.

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2. MENDELOWITZ, WHOSE VIEWS ARE DECIDELY TO THE LEFT OF

THE PROGRESSIVES, SAID HE WAS DISAPPOINTED AT THE RATE OF PROGRESS IN RACE RELATIONS IN U.S. HE ACKNOWLEDGED U.S. POLICY OF "ABHORRENCE OF APARTHEID," BUT SEES LITTLE SUBSTANCE BEHIND IT, BELIEVING THAT OUR "PHILOSOPHY OF LAISSEZ-FAIRE CAPITALISM" PREVENTS OUR PUTTING STRONGER PRESSURES ON U.S. FIRMS IN S.A. HE DID SAY HE WOULD RETURN TO S.A. BETTER EQUIPPED TO ANALYZE S.A. PROBLEMS AND SEEK REALISTIC SOLUTIONS; ESP THRU ORGANIZED LABOR.

3. ALL THREE NON-WHITE STUDENTS ARTICULATED THE ASPIRATIONS OF BLACK MAJORITY AND VIGOROUSLY ATTACKED NATIONALIST POLICIES, WITH GREEN BEING THE MOST OUTSPOKEN. IN SHARPEST EXCHANGE, GREEN SAID TOUR HAD CONFIRMED HIS WORST SUSPICIONS, I.E. THAT FURTHER "DIALOGUE" WITH AFRIKAANERS WAS POINTLESS AND THAT "VIOLENT REVOLUTION WAS PROBABLY INEVITABLE." KOTZE COUNTERED THAT THERE HAD TO BE A WILLINGNESS ON BOTH SIDES TO STRIVE FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND COMPROMISE AND THAT HE THOUGHT HE HAD GAINED BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF BLACK VIEWPOINT. GREEN'S REJOINER WAS THAT "UNDERSTANDING" WAS MEANINGLESS WITHOUT GENUINE DEDICATION TO NEGOTIATE DIFFERENCES. GREEN ALSO FEELS THAT U.S. POLICY IS DOMINATED BY ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC INTERESTS AND THAT S.A. BLACKS SEE USG AS PROVIDING SUPPORT FOR STATUS QUO.

4. STEVENS AND NGWASHENG OBVIOUSLY SHARE SOME OF GREEN'S VIEWS, BUT PUT MORE EMPHASIS ON ENCOURAGING ASPECTS OF TOUR SUCH AS DEGREE OF INDIVIDUAL AND PRESS FREEDOM AND MINORITY RIGHTS GAINS IN U.S. STEVENS EMPHASIZED THAT HE HAD EMERGED FROM HIS "COCOON" AT WESTERN CAPE AND GAINED BROADER PERSPECTIVE REINFORCING HIS SENSE OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS.

5. COMMENT: DESPITE NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF SOME OF THE ABOVE VIEWS AND EVIDENT AFRIKAANER-BLACK ANTAGONISM, WE AND USYC BELIEVE, ON BALANCE, TOUR WAS WORTHWHILE EXPERIMENT. IT WAS A RARE OPPORTUNITY FOR INTENSIVE INTERCHANGE AMONG S.A. PARTICIPANTS AND A BENEFICIAL LEARNING EXPERIENCE CERTAINLY FOR BLACKS AND MENDELOWITZ. INTRA-GROUP TENSIONS WERE PROBABLY REACHING APEX BY END OF

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MONTH, AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT EVEN AFRIKAANERS WILL BE WILLING TO CONTINUE SOME FORM OF DIALOGUE AFTER EXPERIENCE HAS SUNK IN. USYC INTENDS SUBMIT PROPOSAL FOR FURTHER FOLLOW-UP TWO-WAY EXCHANGES BETWEEN S.A. AND U.S. YOUTH. KISSINGER

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